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Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 285
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 6678

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, PFOR, SP
SUBJECT: OCT 11-14 PARIS CONGRESS OF SPANISH SOCIALIST
PSOE - RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RE OTHER SPANISH
SOCIALIST PARTIES

BEGIN SUMMARY: SPANISH "YOUNG TURK" PSOE SOCIALIST PARTY
HELD CONGRESS OCT 11-14 IN PARIS. FOREIGN SOCIALIST
OBSERVERS AT CONGRESS INCLUDED FRANCOIS MITTERAND AND
EXILED CHILEAN CARLOS ALTAMIRANO. ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF LOCAL
PSOE AND OTHER SOURCES, CONGRESS WITNESSED
ASCENDENCY OF RADICAL PSOE ANDALUCIAN FEDERATIONS WHO
RAMMED THROUGH RADICAL (AND PERHAPS IMPRACTICAL)
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RESOLUTIONS WHICH, INTER ALIA, CALL FOR (A) ACTIVE PSOE

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COLLABORATION WITH ALL OPPOSITION GROUPS, PARTICULARLY SPANISH COMMUNIST, MAOIST, AND TROTSKYITE GROUPS; (B) TRANSFER OF PSOE'S ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS FROM FRANCE TO SPAIN; (C) ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW POSITION OF PARTY FIRST SECRETARY; AND (D) NEAR-ELIMINATION OF EXILE REPRESENTATION FROM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. SENTIMENT OF CONGRESS ALSO AGAINST NOW JOINING EITHER STILL-TO BE PROCLAIMED "DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE" OR ALREADY EXISTING "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA". RADICAL INTERNATIONAL TONE WAS EMBODIED IN RESOLUTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL, U.S., CHILE, ETC. NEW RADICAL LINE OF "YOUNG TURK" PSOE PARTY, IF IT PERSISTS, MAY ALIENATE IT FROM ITS AFFILIATED SOCIALIST UGT TRADE UNION WHICH MAINTAINS MODERATE LINE. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RE OTHER SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTIES INCLUDE: (1) OUSTER BY RIVAL "OLD GUARD" PSOE BREAKAWAY FACTION, AT RUMP CONGRESS IN AUG, OF LONG-TIME PSOE SECRETARY GENERAL RODOLFO LLOPIS; (2) REPORTED CHANGE IN NAME BY TIERNO GALVAN INTERIOR SOCIALIST PARTY TO POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA"; (3) RECENT FORMATION OF A NEW SOCIALIST PARTY KNOWN AS SPANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION AND HEADED BY DIONISIO RIDRUEJO; AND (4) ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW OR RECONSTITUTED REGIONAL SOCIALIST ALLIANCES IN CATALONIA AND ANDALUCIA. END SUMMARY

1. FROM OCT 11-14 PRINCIPAL SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY, I.E., "YOUNG TURK"-DOMINATED PSOE, HELD ITS BIENNIAL CONGRESS IN A PARIS SUBURB ATTENDED BY SOME 300 DELEGATES MOSTLY FROM INSIDE SPAIN, BUT WITH REPRESENTATION ALSO FROM PSOE EXILE FEDERATIONS IN FRANCE, GERMANY AND ELSE-WHERE. CONGRESS WAS ALSO ATTENDED BY FOREIGN OBSERVERS FROM SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (TO WHICH PSOE BELONGS), BRITISH LABOR PARTY, AND FROM, INTER ALIA, FRENCH, WEST GERMAN, ITALIAN, BELGIAN, AND CHILEAN SOCIALIST PARTIES. TWO MOST PROMINENT FOREIGN SOCIALIST OBSERVERS WERE FRENCH SOCIALIST LEADER FRANCOIS MITTERAND, AND EXILED CHILEAN SOCIALIST LEADER CARLOS ALTAMIRANO. (LATTER REPORTEDLY GAVE AN EXTREMELY VIOLENT SPEECH AGAINST U.S.)

2. MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF CONGRESS WAS THAT MODERATE
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"YOUNG TURKS" WHO HAVE CONTROLLLED PSOE SINCE THEY DEFEATED "OLD GUARD" PSOE SECRETARY GENERAL RODOLFO LLOPIS AT 1972 PSOE CONGRESS (LLOPIS' "OLD GUARD" THEN BROKE AWAY AND FORMED ITS OWN REMNANT PSOE, NONE OF WHOM WERE PRESENT AT LAST WEEK'S "YOUNG TURK" PSOE CONGRESS), WERE OUTFLANKED BY MOST RADICAL WING OF "YOUNG TURK" PSOE, I.E., FEDERATIONS FROM ANDALUCIA. ANDULICIAN REPS AND THEIR MORE RADICAL PROPOSITIONS

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TENDED TO DOMINATE CONGRESS WHICH WAS REPORTEDLY HELD
AMID CONFUSION AND TURBULANCE AND WAS PUNCTUATED BY
SUBSTANTIAL MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS BETWEEN MODERATES AND
RADICALS.

3. THIS ATMOSPHERE AND ASECENDANCY OF RADICAL ANDALUCIAN
SOCIALISTS WAS REFLECTED IN ELECTION OF NEW "YOUNG TURK"
PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. COLLEGIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
WAS REDUCED FROM 14 TO 11 MEMBERS, WITH A RADICALLY
ALTERED RATIO OF PSOE REPS FROM INSIDE SPAIN
VIS-A-VIS PSOE REPS FROM EXILE ON EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE SO AS TO ALMOST ELIMINATE EXILE REPRESENTATION.
THUS, WHILE UNTIL NOW THERE HAVE BEEN FIVE EXILE AND NINE
INTERIOR REPS ON PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
NEW COMMITTEE CONTAINS TEN INTERIOR REPS AND
ONLY ONE EXILE REP, A LOS OF 80 PERCENT BY EXILES
OF THEIR PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE STRENGTH. INTERIOR
REPRESENTATION ON EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE STILL CONTAINS
PRINCIPAL PSOE "YOUNG TURK" LEADERS OF PAST TWO YEARS,
INCLUDING SAN SEBASTIAN LAWYER ENRIQUE MUJICA HERTZOG,
MADRID LAWYER PABLO CASTELLANO, AND SEVILLE LAWYER FELIPE
GONZALEZ. HOWEVER, ANDALUCIAN GROUP, HEADED BY GONZALEZ
(HIMSELF SOMEWHAT RELUCTANTLY DRAGGED ALONG BY HIS MORE
RADICAL FOLLOWERS), CLASHED ON NUMEROUS ISSUES WITH
MODERATE AND HERETOFORE DOMINANT WING OF "YOUNG TURK" PSOE
HEADED BY PABLO CASTELLANO AND HIS MADRID FEDERATION.
COLLABORATING WITH RADICAL ANDALUCIANS WERE IMPORTANT PSOE
REPS FROM BASQUE COUNTRY, EVEN THOUGH BASQUE
REPS HAVE ALSO HERETOFORE BEEN MODERATE. MOST
SURPRISING WAS THAT CONGRESS REESTABLISHED POSITION
COMPARABLE TO PREVIOUSLY ABOLISHED POSITION OF SECGEN,
ALTHOUGH THEY ARE CALLING NEW POSITION "PARTY FIRST
SECRETARY" WITH SEVILLE LAWYER FELIPE GONZALEZ ELECTED
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TO THAT POSITION.

4. RE POLICY, RADICAL ANDALUCIAN ELEMENTS REPORTEDLY
WERE ABLE RAM THROUGH SEVERAL RESOLUTIONS WHICH, IF
IMPLEMENTED (ALTHOUGH IT DOUBTFUL THEY CAN BE), MAY
ALTER BOTH POLICY AND STRUCTURE OF "YOUNG TURK" PSOE.
PRINCIPAL POLICY RESOLUTION WAS ONE WHICH CALLS FOR PSOE
TO SEEK ACTIVE COOPERATION WITH ALL OPPOSITION FORCES,
PARTICULARLY WITH MORE RADICAL LEFTIST SPANISH
POLITICAL GROUPS, SUCH AS SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE),
AND EXTREMIST PARTIES OF MAOIST, TROTSKYITE, AND ANARCHIST
PERSUASIONS. RE STRUCTURE, RADICALS FORCED THROUGH A VOTE
REQUIRING PSOE TO TRANSFER ITS ENTIRE ADMINISTRATIVE
APPARATUS WHICH IT MAINTAINS IN FRANCE, INCLUDING
PRINTING PRESSES, RECORDS, OFFICE EQUIPMENT, AND STAFF,

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INSIDE OF SPAIN, AND REQUIRING THAT PSOE'S ADMINISTRATIVE
AND POLITICAL HEADQUARTERS BE SET UP CLANDESTINELY IN
MADRID.

5. RESOLUTIONS VOTED ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS WERE ALSO
OFTEN RADICAL IN TONE AND CONTENT. THUS PSOE RADICALS
WERE ABLE TO SECURE PASSAGE OF A RESOLUTION VIOLENTLY
ATTACKING ISRAEL AND SUPPORTING FULLY EVERY PALESTINIAN
DEMAND. OTHER RADICAL RESOLUTIONS PASSED REPORTEDLY
INCLUDED ONE ON CHILE VEHEMENTLY ATTACKING U.S. AND
ANOTHER ONE ATTACKING MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

6. "YOUNG TURK" PSOE CONGRESS DID NOT, AS HAD BEEN EXPECTED,
APPROVE PROPOSAL FOR PSOE PARTICIPATION IN SO-CALLLED
"DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE", EMBRYONIC FRAMEWORK FOR OPPOSITION
COALITION CONSISTING OF VARIOUS MODERATE AND DEMOCRATIC
SPANISH POLITICAL GROUPS. NEITHER DID PSOE PRONOUNCE
ITSELF ON "DEMOCRATICA JUNTA", COMMUNIST-RIGHTIST SPANISH
OPPOSITION COALITION ANNOUNCED IN PARIS TWO MONTHS AGO BY
PCE SECGEN SANTIAGO CARRILLO AND SEVERAL MOSTLY CONSER-
VATIVE SPANISH POLITICAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS. SOME
OF MORE MODERATE CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS FEAR, HOWEVER,
THAT SHIFT OF PSOE IN A SOMEWHAT MORE RADICAL DIRECTION
MAY TILT PSOE MORE TOWARD "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" THAN TO
NASCENT "DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE".

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
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USMISSION GENEVA

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7. PABLO CASTELLANO, MADRID "YOUNG TURK" PSOE LEADER WHO EMERGED AS CHIEF MODERATE AT CONGRESS, TOLD EMB LABATT THAT CONGRESS' RADICAL RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS WERE COMPLETELY IMPRACTICAL AND UTOPIAN. CASTELLANO, WHO IS IN CHARGE OF PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, SAID THAT (A) SOMEWHAT RADICAL TENOR OF CONGRESS (ANTI-ISRAEL RESOLUTIONS) ANTAGONIZED MANY FOREIGN SOCIALIST OBSERVERS AND WAS CONTRARY TO MAINSTREAM OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISM TODAY AND TO POSITIONS OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (OF WHICH PSOE IS MEMBER); (B) DECISION TO VIRTUALLY ELIMINATE EXILE REPRESENTATION FROM PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WAS FOOLISH AND SELF-DEFEATING SINCE SOME OF EXILE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS MAINTAINED VITAL PSOE CONTACT WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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FOREIGN SOCIALIST PARTIES AND EXILES REMAIN ONE OF PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF PSOE'S FINANCIAL SUPPORT; (C) DECISION TO TRASNFER ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE INSIDE SPAIN WAS CRAZY, AS POLICE WOULD BE ABLE TO DISCOVER AND IMPOUND PRINTING PRESSES, RECORDS, ETC. FAIRLY EASILY AND IN SHORT ORDER, THUS DEALING PSOE A CRIPPLING BLOW; (D) CONGRESS HAD SPECIFIED NEW PSOE FIRST SECRETARY GONZALEZ MUST' IN NEW CAPACITY, TRANSFER RESIDENCE FROM SEVILLE TO MADRID, WHICH WOULD CAUSE GONZALEZ CONSIDERABLE HARDSHIP AND FORCE HIM TO ABANDON HIS SEVILLELAW PRACTICE; AND (E) DECISIONS FAVORING MORE ACTIVE COOPERATION WITH PCE AND EXTREMIST MAOIST AND OTHER GROUPS WERE ALSO CRAZY AND, IF ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTED, WOULD OPENLY INVITE STIFF POLICE REPRESSION OF PSOE, REVERSING SOMEWHAT TOLERANT CURRENT ATTITUDE OF AUTHORITIES TOWARDS PSOE AS A MODERATE OPPOSITION PARTY.

8. INTERESTINGLY, CASTELLANO SAID NEW RADICAL TREND, SHOULD IT PERSIST, WILL LEAD "YOUNG TURK" PSOE INTO CONFLICT WITH ITS OWN AFFILIATED UGT TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, SINCE UGT IS COMMITTED TO MUCH MORE MODERATE LINE. THUS SOCIALIST UGT, TO WHOSE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CASTELLANO ALSO BELONGS AND ON WHICH HE IS PERHAPS DOMINANT FIGURE, WILL CONTINUE ITS MODERATE EUROPEANIST SOCIALIST POLICIES AND CONTINUE

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TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION BODIES TO WHICH IT BELONGS, SUCH AS ICFTU AND ETUC, WHEAREAS ITS PARENT POLITICAL PARTY, I.E., "YOUNG TURK" PSOE, COULD TAKE A SOMEWHAT RADICAL AND OBSTRUCTIONIST STANCE IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

9. CASTELLANO SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH YOUNG TURK PSOE CONGRESS HAD TURNED OUT BADLY FOR MODERATES, HE AND OTHER MODERATES REMAINING ON PARTY'S NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WERE STILL SOMEWHAT OPTIMISTIC RE FUTURE. HE FELT THAT PARTY WOULD WITHIN FEW MONTHS RETURN TO ITS PREVIOUS MODERATE COURSE, ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE WOULD BE LEFT IN FRANCE, DISGRUNTLED EXILES WOULD BE PLACATED, AND RADICAL ANDALUCIAN ELEMENTS WOULDHOME TO THEIR SENSES, ONCE IT WAS DEMONSTRATED DIRECTIONS DESIRED BY RADICALS WOULD NOT WORK AND ARE AGAINST MAIN CURRENTS OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISM TODAY.
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10. BESIDES CONGRESS OF YOUNG TURK PSOE, THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING OTHER LESSER SPANISH SOCIALIST APRTIES AND GROUPINGS.

11. RIVAL "OLD GUARD" PSOE OF RODOLFO LLOPIS, WHICH HAD BROKEN AWAY IN 1972 WHEN YOUNG TURKS CAPTURED CONTROL OF PSOE AND WHICH LOST ITS LONG-STANDING MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WHEN YOUNG TURK PSOE WAS GRANTED EXCLUSIVE RECOGNITION BY INTERANTIONAL ONE YEAR AGO, HELD THEIR OWN RUMP PSOE CONGRESS IN TOULOUSE, FRANCE AUG 14-16. AUG "OLD GUARD" PSOE CONGRESS WAS SAD AFFAIR WITH MOSTLY AGING SPANISH EXILES IN ATTENDANCE, AND WITH LLOPIS' INVITATIONS TO FOREING SOCIALIST PARTIES TO SEND OBSERVERS ALMOST ENTIRELY IGNORED. SADDEST AND MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT CONGRESS WAS THAT EVEN A MAJORITY LLOPIS'S "OLD GUARD" SUPPORTERS TURNED AGAINST HIM AND OUSTED HIM FROM HIS LONG-TIME POST OF PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL. IN HIS PLACE THEY ESTABLISHED COLLEGIAL "OLD GUARD" PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON WHICH SPANISH PSOE EXILES IN MEXICO AND VENEZUELA WILL HAVE PREDOMINANT ROLE.

12. MEANWHILE, INTERIOR SOCIALIST PARTY OF PROFESSOR TIERNO GALVAN IS REPORTEDLY IN PROCESS OF CHANGING ITS NAME TO POPULAR SOCILIST PARTY. TIERNO GALVAN GROUP HAVE, SURPRISINGLY, JOINED DEMOCRATIC JUNTA FORMED IN PARIS IN JULY AND THUS NOW, DESPITE THEIR TRADITIONAL ANTI-COMMUNISM, FIND THEMSLEVES IN COALITION IN WHICH PRINCIPAL FIGURE IS PCE SECGEN SANTIAGO CARRILLO.

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13. RECENTLY A FOURTH NATIONWIDE SOCIALIST GROUP WAS FORMED CALLED SPANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION. ITS PRINCIPAL FIGURES ARE ONE-TIME FALANGIST INTELLECTUAL DIONISIO RIDRUEJO AND MADRID LAWYER ANTONIO GARCIO LOPEZ. IT APPEARS TO BE LARGELY A SOCIALIST RECONSTITUTION OF GROUP OF POLITICAL LIBERALS WHICH RIDRUEJO HAS HEADED FOR A LONG TIME AND WHICH HAS A RATHER SMALL FOLLOWING.

14. CERTAIN REGIONAL SICIALIST PARTIES AND GROUPINGS
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HAVE ALSO BEEN ACTIVE. IN BARCELONA THE MSC, PRINCIPAL CATALN SICIALIST PARTY, IS IN PROCESS OF CHANGING ITS NAME AND REORGANIZING ITSELF WITH ANTICIPATED MERGER WITH A COUPLE OF SMALLER CATALAN SOCIALISTS GROUPINGS. RECONSITITUTED PARTY, EXPECTED TO BE ANNOUNCED EARLY NOV, WILL BE KNOWN AS CATALAN SOCIALIST ALLIANCE.
IN SEVILLE A RECONSTITUTED SOCIALIST GROUPING KNOWN AS ANDALUCIAN SOCIALIST ALLIANCE WAS REPORTEDLY FORMED EARLY THIS YEAR, AND HAS AS ITS PRINCIPAL FIGURE SEVILLE LAWYER ALEJANDRO ROJAS MARCOS.

15. COMMENT: DESPITE RECENT ACTIVITY, SPANISH SOCIALISM REMAINS AS FRAGMENTED AS EVER. SPANISH SOCIALISTS THUS NOW INCLUDE (A) "YOUNG TURK" PSOE, WHICH IS PRINCIPAL SOCIALIST PARTY AND ONLY ONE ACCORDED FULL INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION, BUT WHICH HAS JUST GONE THROUGH A BITTER CONGRESS WHICH HAS LEFT PARTY DIVIDED BETWEEN RADICALS AND MODERATES (LATHOUGH THERE DOES NOT NOW APPEAR TO BE LIKELIHOOD OF A NEW COMPLETE SCHISM); (B) "OLD GUARD" PSOE, WHICH RECENTLY OUSTED ITS LONG-TIME LEADER, RODOLFO LLOPIS, AND WHICH APPEARS TO BE CONTINUING ITS STEADY DECLINE; (C) TIERNO GALVAN SOCIALISTS. WITH SUBSTANTIAL ORGANIZATION IN ACADEMIC AND INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES BUT WITH LITTLE MASS FOLLOWING; (D) SMALL NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY GROUPED AROUND DIONISIO RIDRUEJO; AND (E) REGIONAL SOCIALISTS GROUPINGS SUCH AS THAT BEING PROMOTED BY MSC IN CATALONIA AND RELATIVELY NEW ONE IN ANDALUCIA. DESPITE RECENT SURGE OF ACTIVITY BY THESE GROUPS, THEIR ULTIMATE IMPACT ON SPANISH BODY POLITIC IS UNCERTAIN. STILL APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT DIFFERENT SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTIES COULD EVER UNITE IN ONE BIG NATIONAL-LEVEL SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, DESPITE LIP SERVICE GIVEN THIS IDEAL BY ALL GROUPS.
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